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THE ROLE OF SOCIALIZATION AND SOCIAL INFLUENCE IN A COMPENSATORY PRESCHOOL PROGRAM.

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COMPENSATORY PRESCHOOL PROGRAMS, REPRESENTED IN THIS STUDY BY THE EARLY EDUCATION PROGRAM OF YPSILANTI, MICHIGAN, ARE THOUGHT TO BE MOST EFFECTIVE IF BOTH THE MOTHER AND THE CHILD ARE INVOLVED. THEREFORE, THE YPSILANTI PROGRAM INCLUDES, BESIDES 4 HALF-DAY SCHOOL SESSIONS, A 1/1/2 HOUR TUTORIAL SESSION EVERY OTHER WEEK IN THE CHILD'S HOME BY THE SCHOOL TEACHER. AT THIS SESSION, THE MOTHER IS TO BE PRESENT AND, HOPEFULLY, PARTICIPATING. THERE ARE 100 4-YEAR-OLD LOW-INCOME CHILDREN IN THE YPSILANTI PROGRAM. THE MOTHERS ARE ENCOURAGED TO ATTEND AN 18-WEEK GROUP SESSION IN WHICH THEY ARE INSTRUCTED IN THE FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS OF CHILD REARING, INCLUDING CHILD EDUCATION. THE EFFECT OF THE YPSILANTI PROGRAM ON THE MOTHERS OF THE PARTICIPATING CHILDREN IS INTENDED TO BE SOCIAL INFLUENCE, A GRADUAL BUT RELATIVELY SUPERFICIAL CHANGE IN THE MOTHERS' ATTITUDES AND PERSPECTIVIES TOWARDS MIDDLE-CLASS EDUCATIONAL VALUES. IT IS HOPED THE CHANGE WILL BE POSITIVE, THAT IS, THAT THE MOTHERS WILL ACCEPT THESE VALUES AND SUPPORT THEM. THE PROCESS WHICH THE CHILDREN ARE EXPERIENCING BY PARTICIPATION IN THE PROGRAM IS INTENDED TO BE SOMETHING MORE THAN SOCIAL INFLUENCE. IT IS INTENDED TO BE A SOCIALIZATION PROCESS, THE INTERNALIZATION OF THE VALUES AND BEHAVIOR PATTERNS OF THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT. THE YPSILANTI PROGRAM IS INTENDED TO INTERVENE IN THE DEVELOPMENT IN LOWER SOCIOECONOMIC CLASS CHILDREN OF ATTITUDES AND BASIC SKILLS INCOMPATIBLE WITH MIDDLE-CLASS EDUCATIONAL VAUES NECESSARY FOR GENERAL ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT. EQUALLY IMPORTANT IS THE PROGRAM'S HOPE OF SUBSTITUTING MIDDLE-CLASS EDUCATIONAL VALUES AND MOTIVATIONS FOR THE LOWER-CLASS CHILD'S ATTITUDE TOWARD SCHOOL. (WD)

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YPSILANTI PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The Role of Socialization and Social Influence in a Compensatory Preschool Program

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Compensatory preschool programs, a euphemism for school programs for poor children three and four years of age, are commonplace today. Most educators conducting such programs have arrived at the conclusion by this time that both mother and child must be involved if any stable change is to be effected in the student and if the goal of future school success is to be achieved. Few analyses of the processes taking place have been made, however. This paper will attempt to isolate two of the mechanisms which are an inherent part of these pre-kindergarten programs, social influence and socialization, and will discuss the role each plays in the effort to remold the child so that he will have a chance to find gratification in our complex industrial society.

Before proceeding, some terms need clarification. The verb "to educate" means, according to the dictionary, to train, drill, develop, or indoctrinate. It appears that within the boundarits of that definition can be placed both "to socialize" and "to exert social influence". It is the position of this paper that there is a continuum between socialization and social influence with the former referring to the internalization of values, of deeply held beliefs, and of criteria for behavior which are applicable in diverse settings. The latter, social influence, refers to the process of effecting change in more superficial and specific areas of behavior and belief, such as role performance, task preferences, attitudes toward transitory heroes, and the like. There is clearly a gray area in between the two polarities. Some change efforts can be interpreted as either socialization or social influence, or as something in the midst of the two. For example, in a paper entitled, "Processes of Opinion Change", Kelman (1961) refers to the three processes of social influence and includes internalization as one of the three. He defines this process as the acceptance of social influence because it is congruent with one's value system. It then becomes integrated into the individual's value system which is delineated as part of his personal system, as

opposed to role performance. It is difficult to comprehend the difference between Kelman's internalization, a social process, and socialization. In a class lecture on Nov. 20, 1967, Dr. Kelman confirmed the lack of any differentiation by stating that he considered socialization to be a sub-set of social influence and indicated that he included within the classification of socialization both identification and internalization. It is possible however that the identification process, as Kelman defines it, can be considered to be either social influence, or socialization, as defined in this paper, depending on the type of role performance being effected. For example, training for a pervasive role such as mother would most likely involve a socialization process; training for a very limited role of club secretary would more accurately be described as social influence.

Further ambiguities arise from Levinson's (1959) discussion of individual role-conceptions and Yinger's (1965) explication of internalized roles. Is the agent fostering the development of an individual role concept or an internalized role exerting social influence or serving as a socialization agent? It is difficult to tell.

Clear examples of socialization, such as early childhood toilet training, and of social influence, such as opinion modification to conform with the reference group viewpoints, are readily differentiated. It is the area in between these extremities which is problematic. At a later point in this paper, some criteria will be offered which facilitate distinguishing between the two processes in ambiguous situations. Before this, however, a third related concept, education, must be fitted into the schema.

Education, as it is conducted in a comprehensive public school system, incorporates elements of both socialization and social influence. This is particularly true when both preschool and adult education programs

are offered. When two such offerings converge in one project, as they do in a compensatory preschool program, the constrast between the two processes is sharp, and it becomes possible to delineate the differentiating characteristics of the two mechanisms, using variables which are relevant to a school setting. The following is a list of these dimensions:

1. Intensity of the educational program - This refers to the number of hours per day, the number of days per week, and the number of weeks per year the teacher and student spend together. The greater the number of hours, the more closely the process resembles socialization.

2. The extensiveness of the educational program - This dimension refers to the number of different areas the educational program is tackling. The more extensive the coverage, the more the educational process resembles socialization; the fewer, the more it becomes social influence.

3. The centrality of the program in the student's life - If the school program is perceived by the student to be the most significant part of his day, the time he most anticipates and reminisces about, the more like socialization the educational program becomes.

4. The g al of the educational program - If the objective is to alter the student's way of cognizing, his set to learning, his manner of controlling his impulses in a wide variety of situations, his language pattern, etc., then the process approximates socialization. If, on the other hand, the objective is to impart specific knowledge or skills, or modify performance in one particular role, then social influence is a better description of the mechanism involved.

5. Accessibility of the student's inner core of personality, in Lewin's terms (1948) - There are obviously individual differences in this matter, as well as cultural differences as described by Lewin (1948), and implied by Inkeles and Levinson (1954). One factor accounting for a good deal of the variance however is undoubtedly the age of the student. Katz (1967) alludes

to the greater "openness" of young children by stating that teachers' influence on students' motivation is greater in the lower elementary grades "when children are more emotionally dependent on adults". The relationship between accessibility of the inner core and age may not be linear. A plateau may be reached at seven or eight, but it is unlikely that the asymptote is reached before the age of six. One would therefore hypothesize that if the student is younger than six, socialization is more likely to be involved than social influence.* Individual and cultural differences must be taken into account at all ages however.

6. The nature of the relationship between the teacher and the student - To the extent that the relationship is cathected, or that the teacher is perceived as a reinforcing agent of major significance in the student's life, the educational process more closely resembles socialization. If the relationship between the teacher and student is one purely prescribed by their respective role demands, and there is considerable role clarity, as Elkins (1959) uses the concept, or role inflexibility, in Yinger's (1965) terminology, then social influence is a more fitting description of the process. To put the matter into another perspective, if the teacher's relationship with the student tends to be universalistic, as Parson's (1956) describes the phenomenon, then social influence is more likely to be involved. If her relationship tends to be particularistic, then socialization may be the more accurate description of the process, and the relationship can be categorized as more like a primary relationship than a secondary one.

By combining the above variables, one can offer an explanation for the resocialization which occured in German concentration camps and Southern plantations with first generation slaves, in the light of the analysis of both settings made by Elkins (1959). In these total institutions where absolute power existed, the educational program was in effect twenty-four hours per day, for years on end; the program covered the entire life space

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*It is difficult to see how one can talk of internalization in relation to very young children in Kelman's schema in view of the fact that the value and belief system of children under 6 is exceedingly nebulous and amorphous.

of the student. Virtually nothing was untouched in his life except perhaps his memories and fantasy life. The goal was total transformation of the student, and the nature of the relationship between student and teacher was one of total dependence for the necessities for survival. The teacher was the only reinforcing agent, for the most part, in the student's life. The one variable not accounted for is accessibility of the student's inner core of personality. Since it cannot be assumed that this core was equally available in all students, individual differences should have occurred in the effectiveness of the socialization process. Bettleheim's core was inviolate, hence his personality remained relatively intact, and the socialization process essentially failed.

To analyze the socialization and social influence processes in operation in a compensatory preschool program, this paper will use the example of the Early Education Program in Ypsilanti, Michigan. The project was initiated in the Fall of 1967, although its ancestors date back to 1961 when the first compensatory preschool program was opened by the Ypsilanti Public School System. In the current program, one hundred four-year old children, from low-income homes, attend school for one-half day four days per week. (The fifth day is spent by the staff coordinating the various components of the program and conducting or participating in an in-service training program.) There are ten children in each class under the supervision of a teacher and an aide. In the half day when the teacher is not conducting a class, she visits the home of each child for a one and one-half hour tutorial session with the student, focusing on his particular needs and interests. During these home visits, every effort is made to involve the mother in the tutorial session so that she will become knowledgeable about the educative process and be capable of continuing similar activities with her child as part of her everyday life. With ten children in each class, the visits occur on a bi-weekly basis.

An additional component of the program is a series of group meetings for mothers emphasizing these aspects of child-rearing which pertain to fostering the cognitive growth of the child, his motivation to achieve, and the development of his interaal controls. (This is an ideal age to focus on the development of motives according to Veroff (1965)).

In essence, the child is exposed to a cognitively-oriented curriculum, based on Piaget's theory of the sequential development of intelligence, with additional stress on the development of inner control. The parent is exposed to a program focused on those aspects of child-rearing directly relevant to the later school success of her child. The objective of the total program is to effect major changes in the child, and sufficient change in the parent so that she will be willing and able to support the work being done with her child.

Applying the criteria enumerated earlier, it becomes clear that the educational program offered to the children closely resembles the socialization process, while that offered to the mothers can be described as an examplar of social influence. Each of the programs will be discussed in detail and evidence offered for the distinction being made in the two educational processes.

The goals of the instructional program with the children include:

1. The development of a firm cognitive foundation for future intellectual growth.

2. The improvement in verbal facility so that concepts which have been learned can be retrieved and communicated, and feelings be expressed symbolically.

3. The fostering of internal control and the ability to plan so that the auxiliary skills necessary for academic competence will not be lacking.

Each day's activities are carefully programmed to advance one step closer to the designated objectives. To make certain that this is occurring diagnostic tests are administered weekly. Thus the Early Education Program

seeks to make a significant change in the child's manner of cognizing, his approach to learning, his orientation to himself, his ability to handle his emotions, and virtually his entire style of life. The staff, in essence, is assuming the role of surrogate parents to the students, attempting to provide the elements of middle-class training which are necessary for academic achievement. A considerable body of research has shown that lower-class mothers, for the most part, do not fulfill this function. For example, Hess (1965) found that lower-class mothers typically train their children to obey teachers without question. Radin and Kamii (1965) found that mothers from low-income homes feel that children should be taught to fear adults and should never question the thinking of their parents. Middle-class parents, on the other hand, have been found (Kamii and Radin, 1967) to sensitize their children to adults' desires, and to anticipate their wishes, Thus, in Kelman's terms, lower-class mothers tend to teach their children to comply with authority figures whereas middle class parents tend to train their youngsters to identify with those in superior postitions. Katz (1967), in discussing disadvantaged Negro parents, arrives at a conclusion that is equally applicable to white parents with limited income. He states that although their values are no different than those of middle-class parents concerning the importance of education, they do not "know how to encourage intellectual behavior in their children, or how to recognize it when it occurs." It is this gap that the Early Education staff is attempting to fill.

The bi-weekly tutorial program was not created for that purpose, but it has been found to nurture a close relationship between teacher and student in the course of the intense interaction. A strong sense of identification with his teacher, who is seen as "his" in a very personal sense, usually evolves. In addition, the home sessions help transform the teacher into a powerful reinforcing agent. Through a process described by Katz (1967), the child begins to become a self-reinforcer, experiencing pleasure when

performing in a manner of which his teacher would approve.

Insofar as the accessibility of the child's inner core of personality is concerned, almost all of the participating students, even those from severely deprived homes, appear to be highly responsive to the warmth and affection offered by the teachers. The shell does not appear to congeal until a few years later, when the peer group takes primacy. Prior to that period, the significant adults in the child's life appear to have great influence, and a reinforcing teacher who cares enough about the child, from his perspective, to visit him every other week, wields considerable influence in his life. Experience on the project has also shown that the home tutorial aspect of the program exerts almost as much influence on the teacher as on the student. Being alone with the child (except for the presence of his mother)* appears to strengthen the instructor's bonds to her student. The research staff found, for example, that when teachers were asked to eliminate home visits for one of their children to relieve the pressure of their work, the teachers refused to do so stating that they simply could not deny any child the advantages of a private instructional program, and that they would manage to fit five home visits per week into their very busy schedule. It appears that a primary-like relationship is fostered in the tutorial program, one that is affect-laden, and particularistic. The powers of the teacher as a socializing agent are thereby enhanced, and the receptivity of the child to being an object of socialization is equally increased.

Although no objective measure has been taken, thus far, of the centrality of the Early Education Program in the children's lives, anecdotal reports give evidence of its importance to the students. To cite a few examples, mothers often report their children talking ad nauseum about what occurs in class. One mother who openly admitted having difficulty getting up in the morning to prepare her son for class, told his teacher that she was forced to awaken by temper tantrums thrown by her child when he feared she would not get up in time

*The aide accompanies the teacher on home visits and takes care of any other children who may be present.

for him to catch the bus. Another mother reported that her daughter insisted she cut all sandwiches in the shape of cirles and triangles because these were the figures emphasized in class. Word of the program has spread so extensively in the ghetto area of Ypsilanti, that in an initial screening this year, many children were bitterly disappointed when they could not be admitted. Interviewers who talked with parents were beseeched by children to be "my teacher."

To summarize, when one considers the intensity and extensity of the program the nature of the student-teacher relationship, and of the educational goals, as well as the centrality of the program for young children with very accessible inner core of personality, it appears that a socialization process is most certainly taking place.

The approach to the work with parents in the Early Education Program is radically different than the work with children. The reasons for this are pragmatic and philosophical. With the limited resources of the program, it is doubtful that any extensive change could be effected with the mothers of the youngsters. The staff is not equipped to spend any great amount of time with the parents, even if the parents desired this type of relationship. It is the staff's view that in actuality, most of the parents would not welcome this intrusion in their lives. On philosophical grounds, the members of the program feel that they have no right to alter the orientation to life of the parents, except in the area of child-rearing. In this instance, there is sufficient research data available to justify attempts to modify existing mother-child interactions which are detrimental to the child's effective functioning in school. The change in no way conflicts with the parents' values, for they overwhelmingly express the same aspirations for their children's school career as middle class parents (Katz, 1967). The parents merely lack knowledge of the intermediate steps needed to reach that goal, and of the technology of fostering the qualities which lead to academic competence. Thus the teachers are attempting to aid

the mother implement her own goals.

In essence, the parent education program focuses on expanding the parental role, as perceived by the mother, to incorporate activities which nurture the child's cognitive growth and associated auxiliary skills. For the most part, the lower-class mother sees the demands of the role of mother as providing for the physical, and to a lesser extent, the emotional needs of the child. His intellectual abilities are perceived as either being unalterable or else in the school's domain. Therein lies the difference between the lower-class and middle-class mother. Gray (1965) has referred to the hidden curriculum in middle class homes which aptly describes the continual teaching and learning that goes on as part of everyday life. Objects are labeled specifically, items are counted, curiosity is encouraged, and verbalization is rewarded. These activities tend to be missing from disadvantaged homes where quiet and obedience in children are valued, and where parents feel that children should never learn things outside the home which make them doubt their parents' ideas (Radin and Kamii, 1965). The lower-class pattern of child-rearing closely resembles that of the authoritarian family as described by Adorno et al. (1950). This pattern may have survival value in crowded homes set in the midst of crime-ridden communities, but it does not facilitate the child's competency in school. It fosters compliance, but behavior which is dependent on the presence of an authority figure (Kelman, 1958) is not congruent with the values of the public school. In addition, in transmitting the lower-class sub-culture, including the belief in fate rather than in the power of the individual to affect his future (Miller, 1958), the mother from the disadvantaged home is also transmitting a perspective on life that is highly maladaptive for the student in the classroom.

The Early Education Program attempts to help the parents understand

why it is important for children to anticipate the consequence of their acts, and modify their behavior according to the contingencies in the environment. The parents are taught the importance of children's obeying principles, rather than rules. They are also informed about the consequence of compliance, as opposed to identification. Not only is information imparted to the parents, but they are also taught techniques for implementing the new approach. Through the use of social influence, which will be discussed below, the staff attempts to alter the socialization practices of the parents so that their efforts will be congruent with the school's, rather than conflicting. (A discussion of the massive changes also needed within the school system would be pertinent at this point, but is beyond the scope of this paper.)

The social influence techniques used in the work with parents include for the most part, manipulation of group pressures, modeling, and applying a system of rewards and withholding of rewards (essentially a form of punishment). In the tutorial session in the home, every effort is made to involve the parent as an observer, if not a participant. While watching the teacher engage in educative activities (deliberately selected for their ease in adoption by the parent), it is hoped that the mother will note what is taking place and begin to imitate the teacher, and function as an instructor to her child, in the period between home visits. Part of the program involves encouraging the parent to do so. For example, teachers leave books, crayons, scissors, construction paper, etc. for the mother's use before the next home visit. Although imitation can be involved in a socialization process, in this case where the behavior being shaped is quite specific, and limited in scope, and of minor significance, social influence would appear to be a more accurate description of the mechanism. If identification takes place, it is generally so limited and superficial that it cannot be considered an instance

of socialization, (In individual cases, the relationship has become more meaningful and the identification less superficial.) When the mother essays the role of the teacher of her child, she is rewarded symbolically with high praise. If this seems insufficient, as it may be for more deprived mothers, concrete reinforcement will be used.

There are weekly small group meetings throughout most of the year which cover a specific curriculum, focusing on three aspects of child rearing. The first six meetings emphasize techniques of behavior modification. The second six weeks stress techniques of fostering the cognitive development of children. The third six weeks are devoted to techniques of fostering inner control, self-evaluation, planning, and motivation to achieve (which according to Katz, 1967) can be described in terms of dispensing of self-approval and self-disapproval in response to one's own performance in various achievement situations). Four small groups with approximately twelve mothers in each group proceed through the eighteen week sequence. These meetings are led by a skilled social group worker who attempts to create cohesive groups which have high attractiveness, and clear goals so that the norms which develop will be adhered to by the group members (Festinger, et al., 1960; Raven, 1957). It is also hoped that these groups will come to serve as reference groups for the members serving both functions described by Kelly (1952): that of a source for approval, and also as a basis for self-evaluation. In view of the fact that lower-class mothers are known to be relatively isolated socially (Radin and Kamii, 1965), it is likely that a group tailored to meet their interests and needs, in which acceptance is guaranteed, will become a meaningful reference group for the mothers in the Early Education Program.*

Concrete reinforcement in the form of children's books and toys are offered for attending the meetings and completing homework assignments given by the group leader. An example of such an assignment is

the task of isolating one problematic behavior exhibited by the child, applying positive reinforcement for appropriate behavior on a continuous basis, and recording the effect on the child for a period of one week. Efforts are made to encourage the development of appropriate group norms and leadership within the group so that peer pressure will act to facilitate goal achievement. In addition, persuasion is used by the leader to encourage mothers to try a new technique in a specific instance. No coercion is used directly. However, through the distribution of children's toys and books as reinforcement, it is anticipated that the children themselves may apply pressure, if not coercion, on their parents to attend meetings regularly and participate actively in the program. In Vinter's terms (1959) the social worker is applying both direct and indirect means** of intervention to achieve change, attempting to affect the client directly, and attempting to affect the structure of the group and external conditions so that these will alter the behavior of the client (indirect means of intervention).

It is not anticipated that a socialization process will be involved whatsoever in the work with parents, even assuming that socialization of adults is possible in other than total institutions. The contacts are relatively infrequent. The parents are involved in other activities, and have many other pressing problems in their lives, so that the significance of the teacher contacts is limited. In addition, the goals of the program are restricted, and every effort is made by the teacher and social worker to keep the relationship with the parent from becoming intense. Staff members avoid discussing other problems confronting the parent such

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* Although the word "parent" has frequently been used in the paper, it is meant to refer to mothers only. Thus far, there has been no work with fathers in the Early Education Program. It is planned for next year however.

** Many other theorists such as Mannheim (1948) and Parsons (1963) make similar dichotomies in describing influence techniques.

as marital difficulties, housing problems, etc. If these issues are raised, the parent is referred to the appropriate social agency. Many of the mothers have been found to be dependent and child-like; many are very young. It is felt unwise for the teacher or social worker to become a substitute for the mother's parent, priest, or caseworker. To undertake such a role would dilute the program, and displace its goals.

It is realized that offering rewards for appropriate behavior fosters compliance but it is hoped that after initially acting in response to the reinforcement offered by the staff, the behavior will begin to bring other rewards from the environment, such as improved behavior by the child. These satisfactions will help maintain the behavior. Ultimately, it is hoped that the behavior will become self-reinforcing as it comes to be associated with gratifications in the form of teacher and social worker approval, and a more manageable child. Cohen (1967) found that delinquents needed concrete rewards to induce them to perform various desirable activities in a training school, including working on programmed instruction booklets. After a relatively short time, however, the success experience in completing the booklet became reinforcing in and of itself, and additional rewards were no longer necessary. (The offer of an additional program to work was reward enough to maintain the behavior.) It is hoped that a similar self-reinforcing pattern will develop in the Early Education Program. If this occurs, internalization can be said to occur in Katz's terminology (1967). He defines internalization as an individual's ability to maintain sustained effort at a task in the absence of both surveillance and of external sources of immediate self gratification. Values appear to be irrelevant to the concept. In Kelman's terms (1958), the process would be labelled identification since there is no necessary congruence with the parents' value system (except for a "better" child), and the gratification from the role relationship with the teacher or social worker is

very much involved. If however, the new approach to child-rearing does mesh with the parents' value system, and it may in some individual instances, or if the parents' value system changes to become congruent with the new orientation, then one can say that both identification and internalization are taking place. The presence of one process may not negate the presence of the other.

This paper has just begun an exploration of the interrelationship between social influence, socialization, and education. Programs at other grade levels, and in other settings, need to be analyzed in a similar vein. Experiments performed in the past might profit from a re-examination in the light of the social influence-socialization continuum. For example, the use of teen-agers from low-income homes as tutors to younger children might well be explored in this fashion. Cloward (1967) found changes taking place, but the process is not clear. Examining many different kinds of intervention strategies in this way might not only shed light on the mechanism in operation, but also on means for improving the effectiveness of the strategy. New approaches to educational problems might be stimulated through an examination of the teacher's role in the perspective of the social influence and/or socialization process involved. Ideas may emerge as to specific situations where socialization is desirable and should be fostered; other instances may appear where additional social influence techniques can be applied to those already in use. Merely thinking of a teacher in this perspective makes applicable two extensive bodies of literature virtually untouched by educators (unless it was brought to their attention by Lippitt and his group). Perhaps now that theorists working in the fields of social influence and socialization have virtually converged, the time has come for them to bridge the gap between social psychology and education.

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